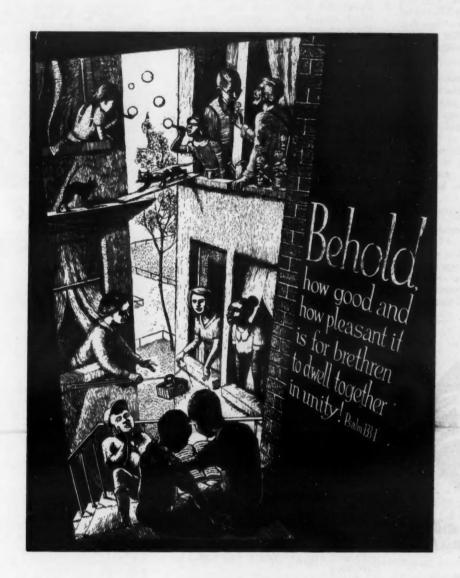
ommunity



White Community Views Housing **System of Segregation**

". . . It would be unrealistic to overlook how widespread and common is the acceptance of residential racial segregation as the 'natural and normal' arrangement . . ."

IT IS A truism among professionals in intergroup relations that one of the most serious obstacles if not the most basic and serious obstacle to the achievement of social justice in housing lies in what they call, "the attitude of the general public. By this, of course, is meant the white public since the overwhelming majority of the population is white. The attitudes and practices of the majority group on the subject of housing and race form the general climate of public opinion and the prevailing pattern of socially approved or "normal" behavior on the subject.

The plain and undeniable fact seems to be that at this time, throughout most of our society, the climate of public opinion and the prevailing pattern of behaviour favor racial segregation in housing and stands opposed to the basic condition necessary to the existence of intergroup justice in housing. There are many outstanding exceptions but it would be unrealistic to overlook how widespread and common is the acceptance of residential racial segregation as the "normal and natural" arrangement regarding race rela-(continued on back page)

EDITORIAL

On Statehood For Hawaii

THE admission of Hawaii as our 50th state, after so many years of frustration by our southern "Democrats," should prove a real boon to improved human relations. There are, of course, some intergroup problems on the islands, but generally it is reported that the various races and nationalities that make up Hawaii's population will be well able to provide good example for their 49 predecessors.

And more than setting example, it is expected that the legislators sent to Congress by Hawaii will add to the liberal forces. This could mean quicker passage of effective civil rights legislation. It might also, because of Hawaii's location and its high proportion of citizens of Oriental ancestory, be instrumental in liberalizing the grossly restrictive immigration quotas presently in force against Asians.

We particularly hope that this will prove to be the case where Japan is concerned. Almost one half of Hawaii's population is of Japanese descent, and they and their elected representatives should, and probably will, speak loudly to us about sharing our abundant space with their overcrowded relatives.

-J.E.B.



"I arose and am still with thee " alleluia!

The Lord is risen : alleluia : alleluia!

APRIL, 1959 * Vol. 18, No. 8

COMMUNITY

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Views

Labor Supports California FEPC

SAN FRANCISCO — Organized labor has thrown its full support behind the campaign to achieve enactment of Fair Employment Practices legislation in California. In a letter sent out to all affiliatés, C. J. Haggerty, head of the State AFL-CIO, urged labor to mobilize behind the Committee for Fair Employment Practices. According to Haggerty, prospects for enactment received a tremendous boost when Governor Edmond Brown gave FEP top priority in his inaugural address. The State Senate, which has in the past killed all FEP measures passed in the Assembly. remains the major political road block, said Haggerty, and he called for an effective campaign by rank and file unionists to communicate their support for FEP to their state senators.

Gov. Collins Urges Some Integration

TALLAHASSEE - Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida urged integration of graduate schools in Florida's colleges and universities. He said that it had cost \$60,000 for each Negro student who had graduated from the "separate but equal" facilities at A. and M., a jimcrow institution.

LET US THANK GOD That he makes us LIVE AMONG the present problems... IT IS NO LONGER permitted TO ANYONE TO BE mediocre.

pope plus XI

N.J. Court Upholds Housing Law, Smacks All-White Levittown Suburb

NEWARK, New Jersey - A Superior Court decision ruled that two all-white housing developments in New Jersey must face charges of violating the State anti-discrimination law.

Judge W. Orvyl Schalick ruled in Woodbury, New Jersey, yesterday that the 15,000-unit Levittown housing development in Burlington County and another all-white project, Green Fields Village in Gloucester County, must submit to a hearing before the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination. Both housing developments have been charged with refusing to sell homes to Negroes.

Commenting on the ruling, Julius Wildstein, Newark lawyer and spokesman for the group of attorneys who represented the Negro complainants in the two cases, described the court's action as constituting "the first step in translating the promise of equality contained in the law into the reality of equality in housing regardless of race or religion."

Judge Schalick's ruling vacated a stay obtained last November by the two housing developers halting further action on the complaints of discrimina-Attorneys for Levittown and Green Fields Village had also asked the court to declare the New Jersey antidiscrimination housing law unconstitu-

It is expected that the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination will proceed with its hearing on the charges of discrimination and issue a ruling. Such a ruling would either dismiss the complaint or call for a cease and desist order that would bar discrimination in the two housing developments and require that Negroes be accepted for occupancy.

The twin cases mark the first time the constitutionality of the New Jersey Law Against Discrimination has been tested as it affects housing.

The Levitt development, consisting of fifteen thousand homes in Burlington County between Trenton and Camden, is the largest housing project in the State and one of the largest in the country. Green Fields village, in West Depford Township, near Camden, numbers 550 homes.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

- . John A. McDermott is Consultant with the Federal Housing Administration in the New York Area. He is also chairman of the Commission on Housing and Family Life of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.
- · Dorothy Abernethy is our regular columnist from Subiaco, Arkansas. She writes Lines from the South.
- Jean Hess, is a librarian in Louisville, Kentucky and is editor of Views.
- · Rev. Leonard Dosh, OSB, of St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota is a professor of European History.
- John Light, social science professor currently employed by the Education Department of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.



He is the true Lamb, who by dying has destroyed our death, & by rising again has bestowed new life on us.

Ohio AFL-CIO Backs Strong FEPC Bill

COLUMBUS, Ohio - At a two-day State-Wide Legislative Conference in Columbus, the Ohio AFL-CIO drafted a ten point legislative program which included support for Fair Employment Practices legislation with enforcement powers. Elmer F. Cope, Secretary-Treasurer of the Ohio AFL-CIO, declared that needed improvements in social and labor legislation were long overdue. Organized labor in Ohio (as well as in California) is supporting their state's FEP campaign. Labor delegates participated in the largest FEP rally in the history of Ohio, which drew 500 representatives from 39 Ohio cities.

Jewish 'Advocate' Hails Archbishop

BOSTON. The Jewish Advocate, English-language weekly published here has hailed Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, as the "Man of the Year." Cardinal Cushing was lauded for his outstanding achievements as a churchman, administrator, and orator.

The citation stated that the award was given in appreciation of Cardinal Cushing's contribution to civic progress, human betterment and greater understanding among the creeds.

Protestants Unite For Open Occupancy

HARTFORD, Connecticut. A resolution, pledging its 38,000,000 members in the United States to work with energy to wipe out discrimination in housing because of race or religion, has been adopted unanimously by the National Council of Churches. The resolution urged churches to "sign and make public covenants which commit them to open-occupancy housing in their neighborhoods.'

The churches were also asked to write Congress in support of more public housing "as one means of providing more housing on an open-occupancy basis for low-income groups regardless of race, national origin, or religion."

It is the concern of the churches, said the resolution to "face and deal with the problem of racial segregation in housing," further stating that they had not been "guiltless in prolonging discriminatory practices, often through evasion and indifference." The resolution added that to ignore the issue would be to ignore "the imperatives of the Christian Gospel."

Unrest, Riots, Rip African Continent

SALISBURY, Southern Rhodesia - A state of emergency has been declared in this British territory, and Rhodesian branches of the African National Congress have been outlawed as a result of nationalist unrest surging across much of Africa. A projected visit of the Earl of Perth, minister of state in the London Colonial Office, to talk over a future constitution for self-governing territory and its partners in the Central African Federation, has been called off.

Disorders have threatened to develop into a head-on clash between Negroes and whites in Nyasaland, another member of the Federation. At the same time a series of riots and other incidents have cast a menacing shadow over the French Congo, Belgian Congo, Italian Somaliland, and South Africa. All these events have in common a restless surge for indepedence.

-Jean Hess



ABOVE: From all over the United States-people concerned.



ABOVE: Sharing ideas under the trees at Childerley Farm.

BELOW: Celebrating the Sunday after Holy Mass together.



APRIL, 1959

SERIOUS BUSINESS?

Yes, but a good time, too, at



Friendship House Summer Sessions

on Interracial Justice

You Are Invited

SUMMER STUDY SESSIONS are always high points on Friendship House's calendar for they bring together from all over the country, a family of new friends of different ages, races, states of life, occupations—for a single purpose—"the love of God has gathered us together." You're invited to join one or all of our '59 Study Sessions on Interracial Justice: three in-service training weeks at Friendship House, Chicago, and into the country for two weekend workshops at Childerley Farm, thirty-five miles northwest of Chicago.

Weekends at the Farm

"You—and a new loved world"—July 10-12 "You—and the present moment"—August 21-23

CHILDERLEY OFFERS a perfect little-while getaway for a renewal of spirits and perspectives, sharing with others ideas and hopes for a better world.

Here our July 10-12 meeting will provide an introduction to the interracial apostolate, as we ponder such searching questions: how vast are the problems of a segregated society—what are its many faces—how did it happen to be—how can we change it—what can I do—why me?

Guiding our August 21-23 weekend will be our late Holy Father's warning legacy—"The time for discussion is over, the time now is for action." And we will dig deep for immediate actions. Our staff and others in the Friendship House movement will be on hand to assist with blueprints for programs we have found most effective, adaptable to other areas, and usable by small groups. These will include ways of approaching the crucial goal—stable interracial neighborhoods. We want you to bring your experiences to share.

Monsignor Daniel M. Cantwell, our chaplain, will be with us at Childerley to help us see our task as Christians at this moment in history and to give us an opportunity to participate actively in Holy Mass, in parts of the Divine Office, in the moving experience of a Bible Vigil—fruit and seed of an awakened delight in the Word of God.

Others, laymen experienced in interracial work and the lay apostolate, will also be on the program, one that should equal or better our '58 summer session, remembered by one of our seminarian participants as "the most inspiring weekend of my life."

Weeks in Town

July 6-10, July 13-17, August 17-21

In-service training weeks at Friendship House in Chicago are also being offered on the above dates to give new people direct experiences in our work and to participate in special organized programs. There will be time also for visiting other lay groups active in Chicago. The week-day sessions are scheduled to surround the July weekend and to precede the August, to enable registrants to take advantage of both. (The National Liturgical Week follows our August weekend at nearby Notre Dame.)

Enrollment and fees

The fee, covering tuition, room, and board, for each country weekend is \$15. Special rates—to married couples, \$25; to religious and seminarians, \$12. Childerley, loaned to us through the graciousness of the Catholic Students of the University of Chicago, is family size, limiting each weekend to twenty-five women and twenty men.

Tuition for each in-service training week, Monday to Friday, is \$10. We will be happy to help out-of-towners make room and meal arrangements.

Grants-in-aid

If you would like to come but cannot take care of the full cost, may we urge you to apply for aid. And if you cannot come, but would like to help send others, we can assure your contributions a tenfold return.

Why don't you write for more information—

Betty Plank Friendship House 4233 South Indiana Avenue Chicago 53, Illinois

COMMUNITY Readers Write

She Reviews **Our Reviewers**

For two years the Jehovah Witnesses had their church meeting hall next door to our office. I learned something from them. They had a permanent bend in their hands from holding printed leaflets to hand to anyone who would stand still long enough to take one. I have read of their remarkable growth in membership and think a great many followers can be traced to their tireless efforts with reading matter. So rather than "preach" to anyone I find it wise to pass along reading material on whatever subject I am trying to put across. Your COM-MUNITY does an excellent job. I check on readers here (the small number who have subscribed). They tell me they read each issue from cover to cover.

A coincidence-I had asked our librarian to put a copy of Martin Luther King's Stride Toward Freedom on the shelf. She promised and phoned me when it was ready for circulation. The mailman had just de livered a copy of COMMUNITY—January and I was reading Mr. Lehman's review on this book. I finished that before I read the book and had a different idea than I might have had from just reading the book.

However, I agreed with the things Mr. Lehhman wrote and Mr. King suffered because I was more critical after Mr. Lehman pointed out some weaknesses in the way the book was written and the boycott's suc-

I was especially interested in Mr. Lehman's final paragraph. I think the book will attract many readers, especially Negroes. Hope someone will "write that better book." Some years ago Liebermann wrote Peace of Mind. Bishop Sheen wrote that "better book" then-Peace of Soul. It threw Mr. Lieberman's theories to the wind.

From my experience with Negroes, I don't think the unity could be accomplished. The Three Rivers president of the NAACP is a dedicated man. He has a job in a local theatre that pays him a salary. He works at it from 6:30 to 12:00 each evening. The balance of his time he gives to promoting the NAACP and better race relations. Despite all his work and that of his wife we have about 10 at the monthly meetings. Never anyone who will take on the chairmanships and do a good job. The membership is 100 but that is only \$2.00 dues. When the Jenner bill came up for discussion in Congress (to curb the power of the Supreme Court as to Civil Rights) the National NAACP wrote the local branches suggesting the members write their Senator protesting the bill. Our office offered to write the letters and mail them-stamps included. I type different wordings and had them ready. The members were asked to stop in the office and sign. One person did. We had to peddle the rest to get signatures.

Since Stride Toward Freedom mentioned the cost of the boycott and that \$250,000 was raised it seems too bad that couldn't be used for some other expense. The thing that finally stopped the segregated buses was an order from Federal courts.

The Negro minister of the Baptist church in Three Rivers is a leader among his people but it is almost entirely church with him. He does come personally to the NAACP meetings but the members of his church are all "too busy with church work" to take any active part in the NAACP and that is always their answer. Something doing every night at church. If the minister attends the meeting of NAACP his wife takes over the church activity. When Mr. Hurley brought this out at one of the meetings the ministers-Baptist and Methodist-said "Nothing is going to interfere with our church. That comes first."

This is a long drawn out way to say, "I agree with what Mr. Lehman says" and I hope you have waded through it. What I want to do is to give the book to readers and the article too. If they have read the book, just the article. Do you know Mr. Lehman? I'd like to know what he would has written was accomplished in Montgomery. Hope I have made myself clear. What would be the title of the "better book?"

Since I think Stride Toward Freedom will be widely read I see a way of getting my foot in the door with COMMUNITY. But if someone asks "What would you do if you were a Montgomery Negro?" I'd like to be able to answer but with some words supplied by possibly a Mr. Lehman.

One more paragraph and then I am going to sign off. I'm going to ask the Presbyterian minister if he has read the Residential Desegregation Report Mary Clinch reviewed in January COMMUNITY. Sneaky way of showing him a copy of COMMUNITY and at the same time getting a copy of the book. Also when the budget is a little more balanced want to buy the American Catholic Dilemma Beth Biro reviewed. Thought they might like to know their efforts were op-

> Sincerely HELEN HURLEY Three Rivers, Michigan

Some More On 'Warriors'

I recently read The Tender Warriors, by Dorothy Sterling, and re-read Mary Dolan's Review that appeared in COMMUNITY in July, 1958. I would like to make a few additional comments on this book.

The aftermath of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in publicly supported schools has been a series of small separate dramas enacted in the hundreds of school districts of the South. In sum, these separate dramas represent a movement of great historical significance. Future generations will refer to a "cataclysm," to the death of the "counterreconstruction" or, perhaps more accurately, to the coming of age of the South. The latter may seem too optimistic but this would not be the first time the removal of a crutch has eliminated an ailment.

The Tender Warriors is an attempted corrective to a natural tendency for those separated by time or space to view historic events in terms so general that humanity is lost in them. It provides a capsule picture of the process of school integration as viewed by the participants, especially the children, in several of those districts where beginnings have been made. A large collection of excellent photographs gives substance to the text which is largely a reporting of interviews engaged in by Mrs. Sterling during an auto trip through the South.

The interview material is often touching, but being restricted to such material, the book loses continuity. The reader is assumed to have a knowledge of the chronology of events in the communities visited. What we are given here is simply the reaction to those events. This failing is unfortunate because it limits the possibility of building to a broader perspective. Too many of the bricks are missing. As a minimum, a simple chronology of the salient events in each

Likes Costello's Movie Column

Dear Editors:

Take a bow! Don Costello's "On Movies and Negroes" was what this movie goer has long awaited in COMMUNITY. The movie industry deserves orchids for its ever increasing attempts, in the last couple of years, to bring Negroes before the public in other than the servile and buffoon roles now so rampant in the older films on television. 'Tis a pity, with all the talent in the industry, that so many of the efforts have

St. Louis Blues couldn't have had a better story or finer music for its base yet it too. laid on egg. The cast included some of the finest entertainers-Nat King Cole, Pearl Bailey, Mahalia Jackson-but the film all but overlooked W. C. Handy's music. It's a strain to wade through hum drum dialog when you're dying to have the stars burst into song. Such frustration, top notch singers, a great musicians life, and barely a song.

Sidney Portier's acting rates with the all time greats. In Edge of the City the audience reaction in a tension area was insoneuncalled for cracks and jeers just be-

. . Happily I saw The Defiant Ones in a Negro neighborhood, here the reaction was as enjoyable as the film itself. People moved with him, anticipated his emotions, his "signifying." Don ought to try this for a balance in reactions. It's a nice change for those of us who limit ourselves to sophisticated or status quo gatherings.

As a lover of the film, I hope Don's was not a one shot venture but rather the first of a regular feature. I'd like to see something on TV too.

Sincerely,

DOLORES PRICE Chicago, Illinois

community should have been provided.

Of further help would have been some additional personal material on the interviewees. It is evident that many of the first Negroes to transfer to white schools were students of extraordinary maturity. How did they get that way? And what of the whites who maintained a liberal position against the full weight of community resentment. Did they spring full blown from the head of Zeus?

Unfortunately, this book must be assessed as a nice try but really little more than source material. It seems, in this field, that an author need attempt little more than to touch the heart strings to get a book published. This is a pretty limp excuse for expending paper. Perhaps the fault lies with the publisher who is satisfied to publish for an audience anxious to extend sympathy and commend heroism. If he had asked the authors for more he may well have gotten it.

> Sincerely, WARREN W. LEHMAN Chicago, Illinois



 These are some Children whom appear in 'Tender Warriors'

U. S. Funds Still Sup

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT has long recognized that it plays an important role in the task of insuring for every American family a decent place to live. It was to achieve this purpose that a number of laws were enacted by Congress providing for the erection of public housing built with federal aid and establishing several programs aimed at encouraging the creation of decent housing not only by local government but also by private industry.

The Federal Housing Administration is committed in principle to "equality of opportunity irrespective of race, color, creed or national origin." And the housing agencies of the federal government have acknowledged that they, pursuant to the due process and equal protection provisions of the Federal Constitution, are bound to a national policy of non-discrimination in the use and expenditure of federal funds. Yet, despite these constitutional strictures, as recently as November 13, 1958 Albert M. Cole, then head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, publicly declared that it was not up to the federal government to promote integration. According the New York Times of November 14, 1958, he said that neither the government nor the private real estate industry had caused segregation in housing and that it was not up to the government to enforce integration. Mr. Cole said that where state or local laws prohibit racial discrimination in federally aided housing-as in New York State-the Housing and Home Finance Agency did not financially support housing that violated the laws. He went on to add, however, that where segregation is purportedly required by state or local laws, the federal agency observed those laws.

No Neutrality Now

The time is long since past when those administering federal laws can adopt an attitude, as did Mr. Cole, of neutrality toward racial and religious discrimination. The five years that have elapsed since the historic United States Supreme Court decision in the public school cases have demonstrated that the federal government, in all its arms, must take every possible action to insure equal protection of the laws for all. It is duty bound under the Constitution to insure that federal funds and the federal credit are not used to strengthen and entrench practices of racial or religious discrimination.

It follows from this that those responsible for the administration of the federal housing program must forthrightly declare their acceptance of the national policy of non-discrimination in carrying out their duties of administering the federal housing program. They must make it clear that they will not permit this program to be used either to impress new patterns of racial segregation on housing anywhere in our country or to strengthen or maintain such existing patterns.

Thus, the federal housing agencies should reorient their practices and their existing procedures to embody in them specific requirements that those seeking the aid of the federal government in connection with the production of housing must undertake a binding commitment that such housing will be made available to all those properly eligible without any discrimination based on race or creed.

It must be pointed out that the federal housing agencies currently give the fullest support to state and municipal legislation guaranteeing equal opportunity in housing. But federal agencies must not support existing local legislation or custom which requires discrimination or segregation.

Bows to Local Law

While the federal government must bow to local laws barring discrimina-

Support Housing Bias Housing



tion, it should at the same time, reject any local laws which violate national policy by requiring discrimination, segregation or other exclusion based on race or creed. The federal housing agencies must make it clear to localities which insist on the perpetuation of racial or religious discrimination that the price of such insistence is the denial of federal aid to housing programs. Those who would thwart federal policy should not expect to receive aid from federal agencies.

Finally, every piece of federal legislation dealing with a federal housing program should include, ideally, a provision re-asserting that in this program the constitutional requirement of equal treatment under the law will be observed. The inclusion of such a provision is not essential if the Constitution is observed as living law. However, the affirmation of this principle may serve to drive home its importance and hopefully insure that it be honored in the observance, not in the breach.

State, Local Legislation

The first state legislation dealing with housing discrimination involved public housing projects. As far back as 1939, the State of New York included in its public housing law a specific prohibition against racial and religious discrimination. In 1945, the State of Indiana, included in its Urban Redevelopment Law a provision that nothing in the law authorized the exclusion of any citizens from any zoned area because of race, creed or national origin. When New York State adopted legislation authorizing an emergency housing program for veterans in 1946, it included in the law a ban on such discrimination. Illinois stated in its Blighted Area Redevelopment Act of 1947 that land acquired for redevelopment purposes under the statute could not lawfully include a racial or religious restrictive covenant. Earlier, in 1941, an Illinois statute dealing with a redevelopment plan included a provision that such redevelopment plans could not lawfully displace the predominant racial group then inhabiting the area to be redeveloped. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Wisconsin have in the years between 1946 and 1952 adopted legislation barring religious and racial discrimination in public housing

The first legislative steps were taken toward banning discrimination in private housing via statutes establishing publicly assisted housing programs. Such programs were called "publicly assisted" because they were built under machinery created by state law and received assistance either through partial tax exemption or through the use of the state's power of eminent domain to

assemble the tract. They were made subject to specific bans on discrimination in the states of New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Oregon and Washington.

More recently, a number of states have by statute expanded the definition of publicly assisted housing to include housing built with the assistance of mortgage or other loan insurance granted by the federal government or the state. New York was the leader in taking this step. In 1955, it adopted the Metcalf-Baker Law which amended the state's civil rights law to provide that publicly assisted housing includes housing which receives publicly insured financing. This pattern of extending the interpretation of the meaning of the term "publicly assisted" was followed in 1957 by state legislatures in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Oregon and Washington.

Housing Covered

The general coverage of these laws is over housing built with state or federal aid: housing operated under the supervision of state agencies; housing which has been granted complete or partial tax exemption; housing built on land sold by the state or any of its subdivisions to the persons erecting the housing; housing built on property which has been acquired or assembled by the state or any of its subdivisions; and housing, the acquisition, construction, repair or maintenance of which was aided financially by the state or any of its subdivisions. Such housing must be made available, because of the use of state power, to all persons within the state without discrimination based on race or creed. The basis on which such statutes are upheld is that the receipt of federal or state aid gives such housing a sufficient public nature to make it subject to the ban against racial and religious discrimination.

Every state law creating a program of publicly assisted housing should contain a specific provision barring discrimination by all participants in, and beneficiaries of, the program.

Another state legislative approach to the problem of discrimination in housing was embodied in a statute adopted in New Jersey in 1955 which amended that state's Savings and Loan Act and its Banking Act to ban discrimination in the giving of mortgage loans. In 1957, when the Washington State Legislature adopted a law barring discrimination in publicly assisted housing, it included in the statute a provision barring discrimination by financial institutions in the granting of loans on housing covered by the law.

Similar legislation should be enacted in every state.

Still another approach attacks the problem head-on by the enactment of

legislation to forbid discrimination in private housing. This aproach follows the pattern set by legislation against discrimination in employment. Normally the latter type of legislation is applicable only to employers whose employment activities have a substantial impact on the pattern of employment in the community, while leaving untouched employers who employ such small numbers of workers that their patterns of employment have a minimal effect.

Thus, the New York City ordinance, which bars discrimination in private housing, applies only to housing facilities in multiple dwellings containing three or more housing units and to one and two-family homes built in projects of 10 or more contiguously located homes. The New York City ordinance is not applicable to one or two-family homes built in units of less than 10.

More recently, late in 1958, the city of Pittsburgh followed the path created by the City of New York. It adopted a local ordinance directed against discrimination in private housing. The Pittsburgh ordinance differs somewhat from the New York one. It bars discrimination by real estate agents and brokers, as well as by lending institutions. It bars discrimination by owners of private housing facilities only if the owner owns five or more housing units. If the owner does own five or more housing units, he is subject to the ordinance regardless of whether or not those units are contiguous.

Precedent Set

Other cities should follow the constructive example established by New York City and Pittsburgh by enacting local ordinances banning discrimination in housing.

The precedent set by the cities of New York and Pittsburgh is now being considered on state levels. In Rhode Island and Massachusetts, legislation directed against discrimination in private housing has already been introduced. In Colorado, New York, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Minnesota, such legislation either has been introduced or is soon to be introduced The various bills seeking to bar discrimination in private housing differ in minor details from state to state. Some undertake to bar discrimination in all private housing.

Others are directed against discrimination in multiple dwellings and in housing offered for sale or rent by owners of five or more, or of ten or more, housing accommodations. These differ-



ences in minor detail are unimportant. Obviously, it is desirable to have the states act as governmental laboratories, in which varying approaches to the problem of housing discrimination and segregation are tested. Such differences may well be helpful in assuring the type of legislation which is best fitted for dealing with the problem in each state.

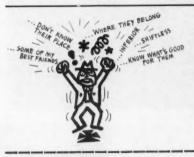
Legislation should be enacted in every state, barring discrimination and segregation in private housing. Such legislation is important. It establishes a machinery by which each state can insure to all inhabitants of the state equality of housing opportunity, a basic prerequisite to equality of opportunity in every other field of community life. It embodies a declaration of state policy against such discrimination. It brands the discriminator as a malefactor. Finally, such statutes will aid inestimably in breaking down the walls of exclusion that have imposed on our spreading cities a pattern of racial and religious ghettoization.

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Inspiring Testimony of Movement in School Integration "The record shows that a strong moral force applied to the problem of schools is help-

ing the country arrive at justice . . ."

WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED, edited by Don Shoemaker, 239 pages. (Harper and Brothers, New York,

THE problem of desegregation of the schools in the South is very accurately reported here. Some of the reporters provide some excellent insights. The chapter on "Communities in Strife" raises the question "Is There A Pattern?" It answers this question as fol-

"One. Based on these incidents, it appears that the intensity and power of the resistance varies directly with the organization of segregationist sentiment in the community. The resistance movements at Clinton and Clay, Mansfield, Milford and Sturgis were all, in the end, controlled by segregationist organizations.

"Two. The number of Negro children involved in the desegregation movement does not seem to matter very much. The people of Mansfield objected to only three, Clay to four and Clinton to twelve.

"Three. The importance of advance warning of desegregation does have an effect, but it can be taken either way. In Milford, Clay and Sturgis, for instance, there was no advance warning and there is no doubt this fact angered many of the people. On the other hand, the people of Clinton, Mansfield and White Sulphur Springs were not caught by surprise.

The Clergy

"Four. The position of the clergy is, so far at least, indecisive. In the communities described above, the clergy

usually entered the picture after the fact. In Henderson the clergy was consistently active, and resistance ended quickly in that community. In Clinton, according to observers, the fact that a preacher was beaten contributed greatly to the defeat of the Citizens Council candidates in the election.

"Five. Based on the above cases, organized, sometimes violent resistance seems to be a delaying tactic rather than a preventive one, and sometimes it works. The Negro students at White Sulphur Springs were admitted to the schools by court order about 18 months after the disturbance in the community. And in Clinton, scene of the hottest strife, Negro children, although six of the original ones dropped out, continued to attend desegrated classes throughout the school year. Mansfield and Milford, however, remain segregated, with no present evidence of any change. It should be noted also that Federal courts have concerned themselves with all six communities

"Brittain, the principal of the Clinton High School, put it this way: 'It's not that the people here actually like integration any better. I'ts just the fact they like violence less."

Preparing the Way

The issue of how to prepare the way for desegregation is covered in excellent summary, as the following examples

"A half dozen Texas districts actually ended segregation in secrecy, in respect to general publicity at any rate. Radio stations and newspapers withheld news of integration in order to dampen the segregationist opposition they expected if too much noise were created.

WE HAVE SEPARATE BUT EQUAL SCHOOL

"In one Baltimore school, the Mississippi-born principal achieved a remarkable success in mixing 398 Negroes and 332 whites. She attributed the result to treating the matter as casually as possible with the children. Yet she held continuous discussions with parents, to keep them informed at every stageespecially when many were fretting about the threats of violence in Delaware and at some Baltimore schools.

"Why was it that in south Delaware the pickets and mass meetings of white segregationists halted integration, while a few miles away in south Baltimore the same forces were put to rout? The explanation must be sought in difference in general community attitudes. In Baltimore, the climate was such that police could break up crowds at the first sign of gathering trouble, school officials could go on television with strong appeals against violence, and school pickets finally could be threatened with arrest on the ground that theye were violating the school attend-

"A stern readiness to enforce the law against mob violence was early established as essential to peaceful desegregation in doubtful areas. When St. Louis integrated, police patrol cars cruised the streets around every high school, with instructions to break up all gatherings. Strikes and parades had been threatened by a few segregationists, but they never materialized."

THE PRACTICE

WE CAN'T DESEGREGATE

The move of population to the North and to the cities is documented as follows: "by the end of the decade, if the movement continues, half the total Negroe population of this country will be living outside the 13 traditionally southern states. And half of those remaining in the South will be in urban and predominantly metropolitan areas."

Movement to the city and movement of whites to the suburbs, crowding of the inner city, crowding of schools and the lack of social service activities for newcomers, are all part of the picture for the near future. Within this framework a program of desegregation is being worked on. The nation is "going to town" and the towns are slowly desegregating. We are having difficulties. of adjustment on both grounds.

Shortcomings

The book is excellent. However, let. us look at some of the lacks of this excellent book.

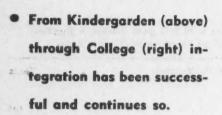
The mass closing of schools and the subsequent readjustment of some southern thinking is not fully covered in the book; but that is only because the problem is still developing and current. The issue of "no schools or limited integration" came into greater prominence after this book was published.

The issue of minority movements tothe suburbs under the new and potential F.H.A. rules is also not covered. Simple projection of present trends is very valuable; but the strong moral force of groups like N.A.A.C.P., the Supreme Court and some dedicated churchmen must be given equal weight with general sociological trends-important as these are.

The record shows that a strong moral force applied to the problem of schools is helping the country arrive at justice. The same moral force can be applied to the problem of full employment, low cost suburban housing (so mothers can raise enough money for schools so that technical and general training can be adequate. This is the real and important lesson of the desegregation job. Though the record is full of difficulties, many not resolved yet, it is an inspiring testament of movement forward for human rights.

-John J. Light







Icebergs and Race Relations

"The part that sticks out of the water is only one-fifth of what is there to contend with . . .

EARLY North Carolina Catholics were all Thursday's children. They had far to go to find a place to live and make a living, far to go to find a Catholic neighbor, far to go to find even a monthly Mass in a Mission Chapel, far, far to go before they could be recognized as a minute fraction of the population or be Catholic openly. It is almost as if much of the general population of North Carolina lived for a long time in a non-Catholic ghetto, completely walled off ideologically from all true knowledge of its Catholics burrowed in scattered hideouts outside the

Now, back in North Carolina, I was no longer a part of this non-Catholic ghetto, but that did not mean I had to find a burrow to hide in. The bishop would not let his Catholics stay underground, but kept them hopping about so people in the ghetto would have to see them occasionally. Everywhere I

went there were snatches of "white" conversation about Catholics they admitted knowing. "You know, she's a 'Catholic' (word Catholic usually whispered in the same low tone of voice that used to be reserved for cancer) but she's a NICE one!" In years past the snatches of conversation were about 'colored" people they admitted knowing, only the word "colored" did not have to be whispered. Out of these seemingly informal discussions of "colored" people in the past, "white" people decided upon the structure of the colored caste system that they fostered. ... Who would be who, how much, and

The Southern Iceberg

The South was once something like a proud glacier that met the raging ocean, a terrible Civil War which broke it into chunks, cast its pieces adrift, but did not melt all of them into the common

Negroes

AMERICAN CHURCHES AND THE NEGRO, by W. D. Weatherford, 310 pages. (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1957.)

U.S. Churches

THE POTENTIAL role religion should play in the solution of our racial problem is the obvious good that moved Dr. W. D. Weatherford to write American Churches and the Negro. The author does not intend to produce the solution but rather gives a moral exhortation to solve the problem via religious channels. His work consists in an historical report of eight of the major Churches involved in the Negro problem. His objective was to ascertain how each Church treated the Negro from the time of the respective Church's arrival in America down to the Civil War. He concludes with some comparisons of these same Churches' present day attitudes with their antebellum attitudes and practices concerning the Negro. This is an attempt to dissipate our ignorance concerning our religious forebearers' attitudes and work for the Negro, and thus equipped with an historical overview of the relationship, we may be enabled to bring more soundness into our integration

Dr. Weatherford gives four reasons why he has investigated these historical roots. First he wishes to discover how much knowledge of the Negro the early Church members had, and also whether they had a real interest in introducing the Negro to the principles of Christianity. Secondly, he attempts to find evidence that the old southern planters understood the Negro better than their present day heirs. A third reason is to feel the pulse of the Churches now, to relate what they are now doing to express their interest and concern for the Negro. The fourth reason is to posit a tentative interpretation of the action demanded by all these convergent facts.

Disconcerting Findings

His findings are refreshingly disconcerting. The Churches were much more responsive to the person of the Negro before the Civil War than since. plantation master was responsible for the slaves' religious state, and to this God-given responsibility most masters replied. Christianity made a better person of the slave as is instanced-admitted somewhat ironically-by the higher monetary value generally accorded Christian slaves.

The old southern plantation master,

influenced greatly by his religion, was sincere and honest in his social and religious dealings with the slaves, although he was blind to some human values as economic and political freedom. It is generally recognized that the period of Reconstruction embittered a majority of the peoples on both sides, and hence a less personal attitude between Negro and white rapidly developed.

The clarion calls of foreign war and of civil rights of the past two decades have reawakened most of the Churches to a renewed interest in the Negro problem, but this is still a far cry from the total interest they should have in the remaining 90 per cent of the Negroes not converted, nor the headway they should be making in their own Churches towards integration.

"The ante-bellum white Christians looked upon the Negro as a possible son of God who had a right to every privilege of the Church, and it did not offend them to see him partaking of all these privileges; but politically and economically, the slave rested under the curse and had no standing. We of the present time have reversed the attitude. We claim that the Negro has full rights to economic, civil, and political freedom (a claim we fail to help him substantiate) but we are sure that socially and religiously he must be completely separated and segregated" (Bold face author's).

Conclusion

A forthright moral broadside concludes the book. Our world leadership depends upon our racial fair mindedness. Racism is the most vitiating character defect we Americans have. Surely the Church cannot do less in the way of integration than the State.

Despite the author's credentials, this cannot be said to be a work of scholarship. The book has virtues and makes some telling observations, but as a piece of historical research, it is deficient. The telescoping of historical background which makes the take-off in each chapter treacherous, chronological confusion, the insertion of much nonessential trivia, moral exhortations, too great a limitation on the number of sources tapped. All these in abundance.

The field is a rich one, but more work must be done in the individual Church areas before a compendium of attitudes is attempted as herein. The foreword and the last two chapters get some recommendation; the rest does not.

-Rev. Leonard Dosh, O.S.B.

union. One time in mid-Atlantic I was sleeping peacefully in a ship going full speed ahead. Suddenly the summer air in the cabin dropped to near freezing and woke me to put more cover on my baby. Before I could get him tucked in, a horrible noise shook the ship from one end to another as if it were about to be wrenched in two. Gathering my baby in my arms I waited tensely for directions from ship authorities as to where and how to assemble for the lifeboats. After a while the violent staggering, creaking and groaning calmed down and my baby began to fret and squirm. The weather was warm again and he was bundled under too many covers.

"What happened last night?" I asked the mate next morning.

"An iceberg was directly in our path. They've never been known to come down this far before and we weren't expecting it. The first we knew about it was when the temperature dropped

suddenly."

"It sounded and felt like the ship was coming to pieces," I commented.

"That's so. We had to go immediately into reverse and pull the ship backwards while all the water about it was shoving it forwards."

"Why couldn't we have just gone to

one side?"

"Lady, you must not know anything about icebergs," he replied. "The part that sticks up out of the water where you can see it is only one-fifth of what is there to contend with. Four fifths of that thing is hidden down under the water and is almost never a smooth round ball, but usually a jagged mess ready to ram a hole in any ship trying to pass. There is no way of telling where the dangerous points might be.'

A Sort of Glamor

I watched the stately iceberg now floating peacefully and gracefully at a safe distance. There might have been a sort of glamor in the way it gathered and held bits of water at a "higher cultural level" than the common sea about it IF our safety had not been threatened by it the night before.

Bits of these southern icebergs stick up very prominently out of our national sea from time to time. Whenever these bits arrange themselves artistically and wrap a bit of ante-bellum glory about them like a sunset the public SUP-PORTS them, often enthusiastically, and helps to preserve them. Whenever the public encounters the results of the underwater devastation in the sea of humanity caused by these very icebergs, the enraged public tries to melt them away or blast them into powder.

Now it so happens that eventually the public will not be able to melt their icebergs and have them. Nor are southerners the ONLY kinds of humanity frozen by human pride into icebergs that rear up out of the common sea in order to be ABOVE their fellow men. Our Lord made it very clear that this kind of "life" was not to be found among His followers, commanding those who would be great to be the servants of the rest.

Southern icebergs cannot make any sense out of icebergs in other parts of the country and the world at large trying to melt and blast away all the frigid underpinnings and uphold the mass that sticks out of the water. Southern icebergs just keep on going about their business of freezing up the people they intend to keep into their castes and leaving the rest to go away into the common sea or get frozen into other icebergs in other parts of the country. The south's major export is people . . .

"Colored" Icebergs

In North Carolina the "whites" were certain they were meting out 100 per cent pure justice on their "separate but equal" basis. Did they not raise up "colored" icebergs just like the ones

they froze for themselves, and give them a great deal of help in the process, such as selecting the people for them, deciding on the size of the iceberg, and where it would operate? They even let the "colored" wear the same clothes they wore. Of course the "white" people wore those clothes for awhile first,

Some of the "white" people seem to be busy exploring Catholics, apparently subconsciously expecting that after all the Catholics they wanted to keep in the state had been frozen into a suitable caste system they would then let the "colored" people look at the Catholics for themselves. In some areas "colored" people could not help from seeing Catholics for themselves. In other areas, however, special "controls" were manipulated to discourage contacts between Negroes and priests.

Dialogue on Priests

One night after supper in my Raleigh boarding house a "colored" helper, fresh from the country that day and ample in years, unburdened her many miseries to me. For awhile we compared experiences in remedies for various ailments most happily. Then it was time for me to leave.

"Where you goin' now?" she asked

pleadingly.

"To see Father Lynch," I answered. "Didn't you just tell me your pappy was dead?" she countered.

"Father Lynch is a priest."

'Wh-wh-what you say?" she started gibbering.

"Father Lynch is a priest-a Catholic preacher that teaches me religion every week."

The poor woman began to sway as if she were going to faint. "What's the matter?" I asked trying to soothe her.

"D-d-did you say-PRIEST?" she gasped.

"Why yes. What—"

"Don't you know better than to go around THEM?"

"You must not know any real priests," I answered.

"No-An' I wouldn't want to know none of 'em for NOTHIN'!" she broke in, terrified.

"They're the best pastors I've ever seen," I said trying to calm her.

"You don't know 'em yet, chile," she contested. Her voice now dropped to a coarse whisper. "They works on dead bodies all the time-gits 'em ready for -GRAVES!" she gulped. "They keeps dead bodies where they live ALL the time. Cuts em up in pieces and carries dead pieces around with 'em wherever they go!"

"Oh no!! I groaned.

"An' they don't always wait for you to finish dyin' before they start gittin' at ye!" she finished with another gasp.

"I'll see you tomorrow," I told her as I rushed to my appointment. But she left Raleigh on the next bus and was back at her country chores by morning.

Still Thursday's Child

In the NCCLA Office where I worked the Laymen's Convention was shaping up nicely. Cardinal Mooney and a host of the Heirarchy and active Catholic laymen would be gathered in one place where North Carolina Catholics could see an impressive segment of the Church all at one time. Also at the office was a letter from the bishop: . . Catechetical Training Course for Sisters and Laity . . . June 4 . . . to the 13th. . . . I want you to be present and take part in our Orientation Course for Seminarians at Southern Pines . . . June 13th through 18th. .

Apparently I would still be a Thursday's child for some time. Most of my fellow North Carolinians, however, would have a lot of rough mountains, raging torrents, and desolate wastelands to cross before they could start being Thursday's children. . . .

-Dorothy Abernethy

Whites View Segregation

(continued from front page)

If this climate of opinion and pattern of behavior are ever to be changed, they must first of all be clearly understood. What are their roots? How do they operate? What are their basic elements?

We offer the following observations as the fruit of our own informal attempts to analyze this phenomenon over a period of years.

- It is in a trio of basic social roles as head of a family or parent, homeowner and member of a community that the average white person makes his contribution to the prevailing pattern of opinion and practice favoring segregation. This is indicated by the motivation behind his support of the pattern. Almost always it is one or a combination of the following: to "protect" his family; to "protect" his property; to "keep faith" with his neighbors and to avoid his neighbor's wrath.
- The average white person makes his contribution chiefly by participating in and acceding to the pattern rather than by openly promulgating it. The attitudes and practices favoring racial segregation have such universal acceptance and are so set that few promulgators of them ever appear on the scene of the average white neighborhood, nor are they needed. In an "emergency" however, where integration through some quirk in the pattern appears imminent, it is likely that many promulgators will come forth. Aside from this exception, however, the pattern is maintained simply by the average white person's quiet conformity to it. For most white people this appears to be a willing conformity, not one of passive resignation.
- By his willing conformity, the average white person together with his neighbors create a kind of anonymous social pressure supporting racial segregation and opposing integration.

This pressure is felt most particularly by local real estate agents; by families in the process of selling their homes; by homebuilders who may be operating in the area; by mortgage institutions involved in local transactions; and by local public officials. This pressure is subtle, but nevertheless very real and strong.



• Despite its strength those who feel this social pressure seldom think of it as a burden. This is because they also, for the most part, willingly conform to the pattern and accept its strictures as "normal and natural."

In fact, these groups, by a curious twist of human relations, tend to become identified in the community as the more or less "official" spokesmen for the segregated pattern. This happens because they are usually the only ones in the community who are likely to speak about the pattern at all. They are likely to speak about it because most of them are involved in the transfer of property where in each case social pressure requires that the pattern of segregation be applied.

• In every all-white community, there are some people who clearly recognize that the racial barriers in their community are immoral and who would sincerely like to see them removed.

But for the most part, such people do not speak out because they feel alone and impotent; because they fear the wrath of their neighbors and because in most communities there are no channels in which the issue can be raised, discussed or handled in a calm and constructive manner.

• On the part of the average person in the all-white community there appears to be at least a flickering recognition, a kind of deep-down suspicion that there is something wrong about the racial barriers in his community. This is indicated in many little ways such as the fact that very few people will brag about their neighborhood's restricted nature.

Another is that they will usually respond on the subject only when challenged and the frequent aggressiveness of their response carries a taint of inner doubt and guilt.

- The general anonymity of the forces behind the pattern acts to dilute feelings of personal guilt and responsibility. What is everybody's fault becomes nobody's fault. In this atmosphere it is easy for people to assuage a guilty conscience by blaming the ananymous community and to rationalize their motives by pleading that they are "forced" against their better instincts to confirm to the pattern.
- Religious leaders rarely reproach or counsel their congregations directly on the immorality of a racially-exclusive community unless some "incident" occurs, and often enough not even then. Those who see the issue usually fail to raise it because they fear the reaction of their congregation. The result is that few communities indeed have any local leadership speaking out against segregation.
- Aside from the purely moral aspect, the racial restrictions in the all-white community are not generally viewed by the average person as any kind of "real" problem. There seems to be little apreciation that any real injustice is done to Negroes. "They can always live somewhere else, can't they is a common belief and retort.

There is very little understanding that racial segregation has bad effects in the practical realm, as for example on urban renewal. There is little awareness of the social and economic trends which make racial change imminent for many neighborhoods.

Most white neighborhoods seem to naively believe that "it won't happen here."

Integration is viewed only as a purely moral, idealistic, ivory-tower kind of solution. Its practical benefits in removing obstacles to the progress of the entire community are largely unseen.

In general, the only problem which the average white person will admit as

"real" is that of the racially changing neighborhood. Unless he lives in such a neighborhood he doesn't seem to feel that its problems relate to him in any way.

If the above observations are substantially correct, their program implications should be studiously observed. What do they mean to a program aimed at changing attitudes in the white community?

In our view they mean that such a program should have the following characteristics.

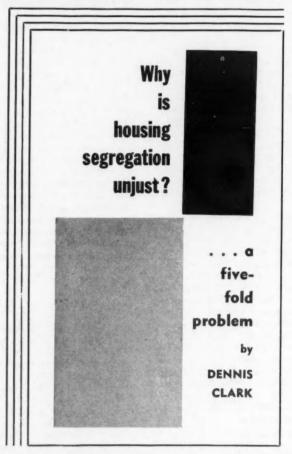
- It should reach the white public in its communities and be meaningful to people on the level of the trio of basic social roles in which they support the segregated pattern. Its message and practical advice to people should apply to these roles; viz., as head of a family or parent; homeowner-property owner; and member or resident of a community.
- It should bring the segregated pattern and the social pressure behind it which exist in white communities out into the open and help people to understand that these things are not natural, normal and inevitable. It should describe the operation of the pattern and show how all share in responsibility for it.
- It should encourage and guide those who are sincerely concerned about the problem and set up channels in the community in which the issue can be raised and discussed calmly and constructively.
- It should try to bring about a strengthening and sharpening of the

community's awareness of the moral issues involved. It should approach religious leadership and indicate the importance for religious leaders to at least begin to educate and counsel their congregations on this issue. It should indicate to religious leaders the unfortunate consequences to the whole community of the continued growth of segregation.

- · It should highlight the practical aspects of the problem and demonstrate the harm that the segregated pattern brings to the whole community. It should show that integration is not just a moral solution but also the alternative which is most practically beneficial. It should show that integration is imminent for many areas and that it is inevitable for all areas. It should specify the practical evils of continuing in the present pattern: viz., handicaps to urban renewal; aggravation of tensions in changing areas; serious harm to intergroup harmony; serious complication for city-suburb relationships and the growth of vested interest in segregation and their harm to civic life.
- It should suggest a series of positive steps for community action which range from timid to strong, in order that every community whatever its level on this issue, will be able to find something that is realistically possible for it to undertake. Such a range might run as follows: give good personal example; educate your own family; give leadership and use influence to establish educational programs in local groups; actively support reform groups and reform legislation and organize to facilitate actual integration of the community.

-John A. McDermott

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